a baby, named Jarata, who became sick and died at the age of nine months (of gastro-enteritis). I was told the cause of death was the father's neglect to collect the stick. The baby Jarata who died was described as a spirit baby (*meni ahihi*); the real baby (*meni be*) had been left in the garden inside the stick and was taken away by the fairies (*sowa*). When the baby became sick, the medicine man went to collect the stick, no doubt with appropriate magic, but it was too late; the 'real baby' was no longer there.

This explanation, referring to the father's neglect, was given by members of Jarata's maternal clan. But I was given a second explanation by the child's paternal clan. According to them, the child died because the mother did not look after the land properly. The assumption here is that if the garden where the child obtains what we provisionally call his soul is well tended, then the child's body will also grow well, but if the garden is neglected (horticulturally or ritually), the child will become sick and die. This intimate connection between the garden and the well-being of the soul endures to some extent throughout life but is especially critical in infancy before a child is able to walk and grows teeth.

It is clear that the 'baby in the stick' resembles what is generally known as an 'external soul'. In its more usual form an 'external soul' resides in an object which is carefully preserved from danger, for any vicissitude that may threaten the object will also threaten the life of the person to whom the 'external soul' belongs. Normally such an object is carefully buried and kept out of harm's way. It appears that the Orokaiva do believe in external souls in this sense, and that they reside in particular specimens of a plant after which a person is named, but that is not relevant here. The concept of the baby in the stick differs in interesting ways from the usual kind of 'external soul'.

The first difference is one of terminology. When I asked whether the part of the baby that was in the stick was called its *ahihi* (spirit) this was denied explicitly. On the contrary, it was the *ahihi* of the child that the mother took with her to the village after the ritual and it was the *ahihi* that the mother was left with when the child sickened and died. The child I had been looking at for several months and that died of gastro-enteritis was nothing but an *ahihi* and it was for that reason that it wasted away and could not live. The part left in the stick and stolen by the fairies was actually the child's *hamo*, its body. Emphatically, therefore, the Orokaiva believe that *ahihi* can be corporeal and that *hamo* can be incorporeal.

Let us now consider more precisely the transaction between deceased and infant that may be called transmigration of souls, which is mediated through the land. Let us start with the death of a man of the Seho clan who was called Jarata (1). Jarata's spirit stayed on the land he had been cultivating at the time of death. Some six years later, Jarata's brother lent this land for a season to Gilford, the husband of a classificatory sister. Gilford's wife was pregnant at the time. When the infant was born, it was named by the man who had lent the land, and was given the name of the dead brother, Jarata. As far as I understand, the effect of this act of naming was to attach the *ahihi* of Jarata (1) to the infant, Jarata (2). (A male infant may obtain its name from either its mother's or its father's patrilineage.) But in addition to *ahihi*, the baby had to be given bodily strength and vigorous growth, in other words, it had to have *hamo*. This could be obtained only from the garden where Jarata (1) was still present. Jarata's *hamo*

423 [224] [226] The only local hunting land held by Sivepe people is that held by individuals as gardening land. A villager may hunt or fish on the land held by members of any group in the village and in fact often strays further afield than this 'village land' without attracting the attention of other groups. A man may, without consulting others, invite a kinsman from another village to hunt or join in a fish drive with him but no hunting parties involve the assembly or co-operation of larger groups. A man wishing to hunt on the land of one of his kinsmen in another village would consult his kinsman first.

d. Livestock

235 [231] Apart from the game available to the hunter, there are only 2 sources of fresh meat available, the domestic pig and fowl. Six householders own a total of 15 fowls which were either bred or bought by their owner. They are valued mainly as an asset for times of feasting and only to a limited extent for egg production. They are allowed to run loose in the village during the day but are enclosed in shelters at night for protection against dogs.

231 [241] Like fowls, pigs are fed by women mainly on scraps but they find much of their food by roaming in the bush and grazing in old gardens. They have complete freedom of movement within or outside the village during the day and in some instances only are they housed in pens during the night. As a result, they are a constant threat to gardens which are not thoroughly fenced; their movements are a frequent source of dispute and require the gardener to exercise care in siting his garden and sometimes to devote considerable time waiting there to attack a pig which has been frequenting the area.

[431] [426] Of the 24 pigs or piglets claimed by 7 of the 12 householders, 15 were bred by them and the rest received in gift exchanges; none was inherited. The only longstanding debts admitted or claimed by members of the sample were in terms of pigs.

[146] There is little animal protein in the villagers' diet; some fresh meat and smoked meat or fish is purchased at Saiho market or from vendors travelling to the market - this source of meat seems to be quickly becoming reasonably accessible (E. Waddell: personal communication), but wild pigs - a very important source in many other Orokaiva areas - are rare and the area for hunting restricted. It would be feasible to take steps to modify any lack of animal protein by increasing stock numbers and improving their quality, but this would involve the introduction of new strains and, to maintain any increase or improvements, husbandry techniques would need to be refined.[1] At present parasites take

[657] [1] About 50 Berkshire boars were distributed to Village Constables among the groups affected by the Mt Lamington eruption.

241 it reverted to the Crown, C, as grandson of the main original
423 vendor, regarded himself as having a right in the abandoned pro-
472 perty. After some years of negotiating he now has a ninety-nine
[427] year lease at an annual rental of $7.95. Here he has planted cocoa and coconut trees.

At any time during his twenty years' employment D could have returned to his home area and planted cash crops on the ample family lands there. It was only when the opportunity arose of a
[654] resettlement block with a development loan of $1,500 that he
[426] decided to undertake cash-cropping; he has now planted over 3,000 cocoa trees.

472 Few Orokaiva are short of land in the area east of Popondetta
423 where the entrepreneurs are located. Land availability is not a factor differentiating entrepreneurs from villagers, but the availability of land other than that held under customary tenure may well be.

241 The entrepreneurs appear to be more efficient food gardeners
472 than many Orokaiva, for even though they average less time garden-
184 ing (see Table 6) they have more extensive gardens, as shown in the following table.

Table 1

Area of land under cultivation for food gardens
(acres)

	Per head of population	Per able-bodied person over 16	Per household
A's hamlet*	-	-	1.45
B's household	1.20	1.20	3.61
C's household	0.67	2.36	4.72
D's household**	0.75	1.50	3.00
Average	0.65	1.26	3.19
Average for Inonda and Sivepe***	0.34	0.69	1.48

* Measured for the six household heads in A's hamlet in December 1965 at the end of a long drought. They estimated their normal garden area to be nearly double this. A lives in a hamlet com-
[592] prising himself, his brothers and some of his married children. The hamlet is a short distance from the village of Kapurahambo.

** Estimated, not measured.

*** From Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:10, and Rimoldi 1966:19. Inonda
[361] is a village on the sparsely settled plain, Sivepe village is located in the more fertile hilly country where population is denser. They were chosen as apparently representative of the two major ecological zones inhabited by the Orokaiva. All four entrepreneurs live in the former, plain zone.

A. [Table 6 appears in Category 461, p.19--Analyst]

informal 'company' was formed to operate the enterprise. There were sixteen shareholders, all residents of A's hamlet or the absent sons of residents. A contributed $144 in cash while the others contributed $10 each. This money is used as working capital and placed in a Cocoa Account at the savings bank. It is controlled by A's eldest son, who is referred to as chairman of the company and is generally responsible for the handling and marketing of produce.

Wet cocoa beans were bought from villagers from moneys in the Cocoa Account at 3 cents per pound and fermented and dried. They were shipped through a local trading firm and sold on the London market. The fermentary has not been very successful because most villagers outside A's hamlet sold to a European fermentary which collected the beans and paid a higher price. Another, and perhaps more important, reason that the local fermentary was not patronised lay in tensions and divided loyalties within the neighbouring villages. From early 1962 until May 1963 only 7,080 pounds of wet cocoa beans were processed using the temporary fermentary. No later figures are available but the credit balance in the Cocoa Account rose from $174.07 in June 1963 to $470 in January 1966.

All four entrepreneurs aspire to owning a motor vehicle. A's early attempts were declined by officials,[1] and his attempt to establish a bus service in 1963 (for which he had sufficient finance) was thwarted when the only licence was granted to an expatriate. He still gives top priority to buying a vehicle for his own cartage and for hire. B had the funds but not the driving skill.

The difficulty of acquiring a skill such as driving is often overlooked. For a person in a rural area it is usually necessary to go to a town and get a job. Even then one may spend several years in an unskilled job without getting the opportunity to learn to drive. Few Papuans have vehicles and most people are naturally reluctant to allow others to practise on their vehicles. B's son has now tried unsuccessfully for three years to find an opportunity to learn to drive. C and D have each been seeking a cheap second-hand vehicle for some time, but the likelihood of establishing a successful carrying business is doubtful, for overheads are high, business would probably be irregular and many of the potential customers would have difficulty in paying. In the long term, as incomes rise, there will certainly be openings for such ventures. In the meantime, however, there is a danger that a transport business would survive only if it was subsidised in part at least from

[1] Official approval was then necessary for indigenous people to go into debt.

444 Each trader in group I still holds a current trading licence and intends to re-open his store at some future date. A closed his store after only two months of operation, because his duties as a local government councillor were too time-consuming. He intended to resign before the next election in June 1966 and re-open his store.

444 472 452 B started his store in 1961 with the relatively large capital of $478, of which $300 was his own money, and the remainder his younger brother's. The store was built some distance from his house, but when $240 was stolen from the store in 1962, the two brothers built a new store adjacent to B's house. It was closed in June 1964. Credit had been given too freely and $157.48 was still outstanding late in 1965, and a European stated that B had [474] been selling goods well below cost price. Competition from a [477] local co-operative store which B helped to establish (and with which he is still closely associated) reduced his turnover. B bought his stocks on credit from Oro Ltd, and built up a large debt until further credit was refused. B still owes $220 to Oro Ltd, and due to insufficient understanding of the system, feels that he has been deceived.

Subjects C and D were awaiting the proceeds of their next cash crop sale with which to restock their stores.

444 The stores owned by group II traders have so far been only moderately successful. With the exception of G, who opened his store only six months ago, they have operated their stores for at least nineteen months. E has only recently re-opened his store, after it had been closed for four months.

[426] Group III. Trader I started his store with $200 which was lent him by his younger brother-in-law, who is a clerk with a commercial firm at Lae. The brother-in-law pays all store bills, and I had repaid him $104.

[451] J's trade store was managed by his elder brother, who could neither read nor write and did not keep any store books.

444 474 K started his store with $390, helped by his younger brother who works in Port Moresby. K runs the store on a quasi co-operative basis, with forty-two shareholders belonging to his own and another clan. His brother contributed $200 to the initial cost, and the [499] value of the other shares varied between 50 cents and $10. All are ultimately to be $10. Most of the store's turnover comes from other villages and the people of K's village are at present building a road to attract more people to the store.

444 L began her store with $206; when she is away, it is managed by her father.

463 The five subjects who had hired labourers who were not related
472 to them all paid cash wages. A and H have received $1,500 govern-
464 ment loans to develop their blocks and have thus had the capital
426 to pay for labour. They have not relied on kinship assistance at
657 all. The loan has been an effective substitute for kin ties. L derives the capital necessary to hire labour from her trade store.

It will be noted that all non-relatives are paid in cash, but
463 most relatives are paid in kind. Most entrepreneurs are still
472 dependent on the help of relatives, as they do not have the cash
465 to pay hired labour, and are thus forced, willingly or not, to exploit their kinship ties.

464 Property

602 Land and cash crops. Most of the twelve subjects did not have any records of cash crop production or sales, so it was impossible
463 to calculate their success in cash-cropping according to these two
472 criteria. For this reason their cash-cropping activity has been assessed in terms of the number of economic trees each has planted.

423 Ten of the twelve entrepreneurs have cash crops, and another has
245 cleared land for 500 coffee trees. The following table shows that the most successful entrepreneurs have the fewest cash crops. The
[426 largest cash croppers (A, D and H) have leases of government land
427 and government development loans of $1,500, but even when they are
659] omitted the proportions between the three groups remain similar.

Table 13

Commercial trees owned by each entrepreneur*

Entrepreneur	Coffee	Coconut	Cocoa	Total economic trees	Title to land	Years since cash-cropping began	Average trees
A	100	-	1,085	1,185	L	3	
B	-	-	-	-	-	-	702
C	334	88	-	422	C	7	
D	-	-	1,200	1,200	L	4	
E	1,600	11	-	1,611	C	20	
F	300	46	100	446	C	9	1,800
G	388	52	-	440	C	7	
H	-	-	4,702	4,702	L	4	
I	-	170	200	370	C	11	
J	intends to plant	-	-	-	C	-	168
K	150	-	-	150	C	9	
L	150	-	-	150	C	10	

* Coconut and other trees used for home consumption only have been excluded.

Liquid assets. The three groups of entrepreneurs show a clear progression in average savings, group I averaging $37.32, group II $212.01 and group III $322.66. The details are given in Table 17. 463 472 454

Table 17

Entrepreneurs' liquid assets

Entrepreneur	Savings bank	Settlers Savings Club	Shares in co-operative or cash society	Cash	Total	Average for group
A	30.00	6.00			36.00	
B	5.30		60		65.30	$37.32
C	42.00				42.00	
D	6.00				6.00	
E	300.90			62.00	362.90	
F*	2.65				2.65	$212.01**
G	?				?	
H	320.00		12.50		332.50	
I	224.00		10.00		234.00	
J	?				?	$322.66**
K	536.00				536.00	
L	198.00				198.00	

* Savings were much higher but used on brother's wife's funeral and food to supplement garden produce during drought.

** Averaged for three persons only. G did not have his account book with him and said he did not remember the amount. J is said to have substantial savings but was not home when the data were collected and his brother did not know the extent of his savings.

The loans received by the entrepreneurs are shown in Table 18. As mentioned above in connection with cash-cropping, there is a negative correlation between extensive cash-cropping and success as an entrepreneur. This is further borne out by the fact that the only three entrepreneurs to receive loans of $1,500 from the Land Board have planted the most cash crops and are among the less successful entrepreneurs. 463 472 426 657

The receipt of a loan to assist in the establishment of a store seems to be correlated positively with entrepreneurial success. It must be remembered, however, that none of the most successful stores had been open for more than fifteen months.

16: Oostermeyer & Gray U-5 (1965-1966) 1967 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

Table 18

Loans received

A $1,500 (land board)	E -	I $200 (from brother-in-law for store)	
B $178 (from younger brother for store)	F -	J -	
C -	G -	K $390 (from brother and share money for store)	
D $1,500 (land board)	H $1,500 (land board)	L -	
75%	25%	50%	

Conclusion

Analysis of the three groups with respect to variables which may be classified roughly as economic and social reveals a degree of differentiation. The data do not enable firm conclusions on whether the different variables of themselves explain the relative success of the sample in trading activities.

The most successful group had fewer economic trees than either of the less successful groups, had considerably higher liquid assets, but fewer traditional valuables. They had more tools and equipment than the traders whose stores were closed, but fewer than the traders who, in this sample, can be classed as moderately successful.

The traders with highest turnover had been in operation for considerably less time than the other two groups, and their stores were more frequently outside the owner's home village. They had received more loans to assist with their stores, and fewer loans from the Land Board than either of the other groups.

With respect to social variables the most successful traders were younger than the other groups. Directly related to their lower age was their higher level of education and their shorter experience of paid work. However, the positions they had held had carried more responsibility and status than those held by the less well educated, younger and less successful entrepreneurs.

They were as often elected to positions of community leadership as the least successful, though the moderately successful most often held such positions, and more often held more than one such position (an achievement never realised by the least successful traders).

241 423 613 is maintained today because, the Yega say, it makes the work lighter if you have someone to gossip with, and to share a watermelon or a smoke during rest breaks. The effect is that, at any one time, many people of a sub-clan are using land to which they do not hold cultivation rights.

241 423 [602] [614] The granting of temporary rights to plant a food crop is normal procedure. A right-holder frequently grants such rights to affinal kin of a different clan or even to an affinal kinsman from a neighbouring parish. An outsider granted such a right would *never* consider that he had any permanent right to Yega land. He would simply give the right-holder a [431] [426] gift or, if asked, would lend land in return.

226 [462] 226 423 614 [431] The Yega are coastal people and expert fishermen. Fishing is an exclusively male occupation and fish have always been an important food. Eleven reefs are known by the Yega to exist off their strip of coast; rights to fish over these reefs are held by the clans whose ancestors first discovered them. Any person who catches fish over a reef belonging to another clan must give a gift from his catch to the right-holders. Fish are caught by many [199] different methods but the commonest nowadays is by skin-diving with a home-made spear gun and goggles made in Hong Kong.

SUBSISTENCE GARDENING

241 The Yega gardening routine is similar to the general procedure described earlier. The main features are universal inter-planting of a wide range of food plants and a shifting-field system which provides a continuous supply of fresh vegetable food. Some special features of Yega agriculture are worth noting. These are:

241 242 a) *The shifting-field cycle.* The average length of the fallow period for twenty-one swiddens investigated was 7·4 years. Such a figure is apt to be misleading. It tends to give the impression that New Guineans are much more organized than in fact they are. Some swiddens were fallowed for as little as two years . . . 'because my brother made his garden over there and I wanted to work near him!', while others had been left as long as thirteen years . . . 'because the soil isn't very good in this place.' Human factors as well as physical

[P.8-B]

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

from behaviour, because Orokaiva parents give their children, for instance, school lunches, just as parents will do anywhere. It is only when the anthropologist inquires how such behaviour is *classified* by actors, that we find differences, e.g. that an occidental mother will say she is doing her duty to her children when an Orokaiva mother will count the school lunches along with other lots of gift exchange taro she has distributed that day. If the anthropologist proceeds to ask whether the mother expects a counterprestation, a minimum of casuistic talent will suggest the answer to her that she will get it all back in her old age.

The hard fact is that some *tihanga* are collectable, others not. Naturally one collects what one can. A more apposite but difficult field of enquiry would be: when do people stop allowing others to accumulate uncollectable debts? The commonly given, almost standard answer to unwelcome requests for *hande* is: *irae* (it's all gone). This is by no means always true but, over a longer run, it would be hard indeed to stop giving until the supplies are gone. The only room for exercising free will is in deciding to whom one will share out what one has. Orokaiva do not accumulate debt to the same extent as many other more hierarchised New-Guinean groups,[5] because there is a rule against borrowing for ceremonial prestations. Big men may give on such occasions; they may not lend. Even so, a good part of any *hande* will go to sundry creditors, while the rest will go to set up debts among others. Here the social scientist cannot hope to write rules for what is essentially an art.

One may say that the highest social status is reserved to the skilled manipulator, the *hande embo*, who is also often called *otohu embo*, a term discussed in much detail elsewhere (Schwimmer 1973; ch. 9) which means not only a generous, honourable man, but even in a sense, 'a holy man'. My field data show that the persons in my village to whom this term may be most nearly applied, practised great care in balancing their accounts and minimising their debts within the village. It was those who lacked ambition for 'big man' status who allowed their debts to ride indefinitely. They did ask for help in feasting and other more or less public causes, but not often the kind that set up *tihanga* against them. It may also be relevant that the rules I have been setting out here do not apply so closely to European type resources such as money and objects bought with money and I never heard that it set up a *tihanga* if a friend pays your taxes. Money was, at the time of my research, little more than a toy, except if it became 'sacralised' by being included in a bridewealth or other ceremonial prestation. To be sure it then became an *integral* part of the Orokaiva exchange system, but even then I do not believe that money could become *tihanga* in the sense that its repayment was seriously demanded upon dissolution of a marriage. Perhaps the explanation of this paradox lies in Sahlins's theory of *hau*: the possession of valuables such as ornaments has a definite *yield*, in blessings gained by the donor, *hande mine* gained by the lender. On the other hand, money (except if kept for other ceremonial prestations) vanishes without a trace, without any noticeable yield, at least among Orokaiva. Presentation of money at a wedding or other ceremony, while highly honorific, is in fact a destruction of value, like coppers at a potlatch.

657 731 423 maternal relatives. Moreover, the fact that these groups have a clan name in common implies very much less than that they have rights in each other's land. They have rights to be protected and succoured as brothers in times of war, starvation or other emergencies, but rights in land cannot be established on that basis.

The government sometimes went to considerable trouble to give supposedly secure land tenure to those who agreed to stay in the resettlement villages. I have already stressed that in such cases one cannot speak of "clan land" being made available to the immigrants, because all Orokaiva land is owned by individual extended families. [426] In such cases, individuals lend pieces of land to immigrants who are allowed to cultivate them on a year-to-year basis. Their usehold lapses when they leave the community. It goes without saying that where this land is used by the techniques of shifting agriculture, a man cannot depend on the land resources of his new village unless he gets enough land to make about eight gardens in eight successive years. Plant estimated immigrants' needs at five acres per person and this is a good deal of land. I know of several cases where land was lent to people who needed some. The pieces transferred usually measured at the most one or two acres--enough, to be sure, for subsistence over a short term but no more. The effect of this is not to make life in the new village impossible but to hold the immigrant in a position of dependance on landholders. Understandable, the immigrants make every effort, after resettlement, to cultivate their own land, even if it is situated some distance away. Once they begin to do this, the temptation to build a village near their home gardens is very strong. According to Orokaiva ideas, the immigrants lose all rights over land which has been lent to them by their hosts as soon as they stop residing in the village where the land is. Thus, as soon as people decide to leave a resettlement village, they lose any rights in it that their hosts may have given them, if Orokaiva legal principles are followed.

I shall illustrate these principles in one concrete instance, the resettlement village of Mumuni, situated between Sasembata and Waseta, and I shall show how the government attempted to improve the land tenure position of resettled groups. After the eruption, the people of Dapari were persuaded to settle in Mumuni, which was intended as one of the new style resettlement villages. [425] They were given some land to cultivate and stayed for several years. When the government [245] began to encourage the planting of coffee trees, the Dapari immigrants planted coffee gardens at Mumuni. Under Orokaiva law, it is permissible [426] to plant trees on borrowed land provided the owner consents and the produce from that tree will then always belong to the planter, even [422] when the land as such reverts to the owner. One frequently sees a betelnut palm or a breadfruit tree which is owned by a person who at one time borrowed the land and which is harvested by the planter and left undisturbed by the owner of the land.

361 731 628 Inonda people. They built a da of their own at a very short distance from Inonda; both these da were very close to the airstrip and abandoned now. Although these two da were less than a hundred yeards apart, they were still two socially distinct units. It sometimes happens, as in the case of Hohorita, to which I shall return, that two such contiguous villages are later joined together into a single one, but this is a deliberate act, involving the slashing down of the intervening brushwood and, ideally, also the removal of houses which would run through the centre of the combined village. If Sewa people had taken up permanent residence in Inonda, such fusion would have occurred, no doubt, but instead they went back to their own land.

621 361 [162] Sivepe, with its present composition, goes back in time no further than about 1948 when the village Pamba was built, combining an older Sive and a new defunct village Pusahambo. The census list current at the time of the eruption still shows the population of the two villages separately, though in fact they had already fused. (Sive 58, Pusahambo 41) I do not know how many residential units there were then, but in Old Sivepe, in 1962, 23 were counted, plus one belonging to the anthropologist. At that time, the population was 120. When I arrived in Sivepe, the new village was only partly completed. Some people lived in new houses; some had not yet built or finished their new houses, but had shifted their old houses from the old to the new village. Others again were still domiciled in the old village, but had declared their intention to start building in the new one "soon." At the time of my arrival, six of the houses in the old village were still inhabited; nine months later, this number had dropped to three, two of the houses being inhabited by widows living alone, while the head of the sole remaining family had almost completed [231] his house in the new village. At the time of my arrival, a good number of the village pigs were still being kept in the old village (these animals being rigorously barred from the new one) but by the end of my stay, these pigs had all gone to the bush. New Sivepe, at that time, had 25 dwelling units, plus the one rapidly nearing completion. The total number of dwelling units included in the study (28) accommodated 137 people. There was occasional discussion of further increments in the population, as families from Garoubi were considering moving in and would have been welcomed.

361 At no time since the eruption did Sivepe exhibit rigorously the village plan that was regarded as ideal. In Old Sivepe 18 out of 23 houses were arranged around the araha in standard fashion, while another five houses had been built outside the village proper, along the old [426] jeep road, separated from the rest of the village by a gully. The land on which Old Sivepe was built was lent by three individuals from different kinship groups; residents chose their house site irrespective [423] of their possible ownership of land on the village site. On the other hand, the five houses built outside the village proper were all on land owned by the residents. Though some of these houses were as much as four chains away from the village proper, they were still

his powers of black magic would be undermined by the church if he joined it. It seems likely that it was in part his influence which made Seho less inclined than Jegase to make outside contacts.

One of his sons, however, did leave the village to join the A.P.C., returning at the time of the eruption. It was this son (the second in seniority) who was chosen by Isemba as his successor to the leadership, as he had fallen out with the oldest one.

This son, baptised under the name of Lawrence in 1963, is now about 50 years of age, proud and withdrawn, and is both the feast-leader and the "committee" of Sivepa. His land holdings are relatively extensive; he has lent some of them on a year-to-year basis to mission personnel. He refuses to sell any of this land to the mission nor will he lend gardens to the mission as organisation. He may help an individual teacher; when that teacher leaves, the land reverts to him. At one time a teacher left just before the taro was ready for harvest; Lawrence took the land and the taro; if the successor of the departed teacher felt upset, he regarded this as a problem for the mission. For Lawrence, this was a grave political issue: if one such land transfer was agreed to, he felt this would effectively mean permanent occupation by the mission of all areas loaned by him.

In spite of appearances, this implied no anti-mission attitude. Lawrence was most interested in the benefits the mission could bring and supported the move of Sivepa to a location on Seho land, six chains from the mission, partly because he liked to be close. But he pursued a careful policy of balance of power. The same pragmatic approach marked his relations with government. He was among the first to acquire coffee trees and Malayan rubber trees; he was, as I have already said, a staunch advocate of the government's village improvement policies, but when the patrol officer called his one concern, as "committee" was to see him happily and speedily on his way again, preferably without incident.

During the year, the women's club wanted some land for their club house. He was on friendly terms with the secretary, who was his elder sister's grandchild and offered an ideal elevated site, between village and mission station which would have made the village entrance most impressive. He was a man who thought of things like that.

Lawrence has nine children, three married and three single daughters and three young sons. One of the daughters, rather against his will, married the most acculturated of the younger Jegase men; if such a thing as factionism existed at all in Sivepa, he and this younger man were clearly cast in the roles of opposing leaders. The second daughter married into Kongohambo, a mile from Sivepa. The third married a Samara man employed at Ilimo, but this man was said to maltreat his wife. Lawrence went to Ilimo and brought her home; this was regarded as quite proper even though bridewealth had been paid.

Lawrence was comparatively well off, largely because he was a good coffee producer, but also because he received bridewealth from three daughters, continuing gifts from his sons in law and from the